

A NOTED WRITER

Hon. James Bryce, M. P., Discusses the Islands.

IDEAS ON GOVERNMENT

Tells What Great Britain Would Do Concerning the Races. About Suffrage.

(Jas. Bryce, M. P., in the San Francisco Chronicle.)

The problems presented by the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands are less difficult on their political side than those which arise in connection with the control of Cuba; and less difficult, also, both politically and economically, than those involved in the government of the Philippines. The scale, moreover, of the phenomena to be dealt with is smaller in the first-mentioned case than in the two latter. But the facts of the Hawaiian case are intricate and peculiar, so that a few words upon it from one who has visited Hawaii and seen something of various British colonies may have an interest for the American reader.

Though the population of the Hawaiian group of islands is only about 127,000, it is composed of five distinct and dissimilar elements, standing on very different levels of civilization. The American-European element, consisting of white men chiefly of American origin, with a good many English and minor sprinklings from other European countries, is the smallest, but the most important by intelligence, energy and wealth. It is, in round numbers, about 14,000, and it has practically had the management of the islands in its hands for many years, since it guided and furnished Ministers for the first native sovereigns. Largest in number, but still very backward, though it is nominally Christian and Protestant, and to a great extent can speak English, is the native Hawaiian element, estimated at 75,000 and apparently diminishing. Then follow three masses of recent immigrants—Japanese, about 25,000; Chinese, about 15,000; and Portuguese, about 9,000. The Portuguese are Roman Catholics, the Japanese and Chinese nearly all heathen. All these four elements, Portuguese as well as native Hawaiians, Japanese and Chinese, are quite unfit for free government. The Portuguese, though a good sort of people, have had practically no experience in it, and have no taste for it. The other three races are, of course, in a still lower stage. All these four race-groups have, moreover, no natural organization within their groups. Three of them have come lately to the islands while among the natives the ancient system of rule by chiefs has completely vanished. Nor has any of these four groups anything in common with any of the others except local contiguity. The two Asiatic races hate one another. No group can speak the language of any other, and it will take a good while before they learn to use English as their common medium of communication. This is an advantage for the ruling Americans, because it prevents a hostile combination among their subjects. But it increases the difficulty of establishing representative institutions, or of impressing American ideas upon the mass of the inhabitants.

The problem for providing for a population composed of elements so strangely various and nearly balanced, a government which shall be just, pure and progressive, is one which has never arisen in any British colony. Nevertheless, if Hawaii belonged to Britain, Britain would not have much doubt as to how she would deal with it. She would make it what we call a crown colony, that is, to say, she would administer it by a governor sent from England, clothed with large discretionary powers, but assisted by several executive officers and advised by a local legislative council. To show some respect for the educated and property-holding element (the 5,000 Americans and Europeans), a certain number of places on this council would be reserved for members to be elected by that element, but probably there would either be secured on the council a Government majority of official and nominated members, or else the home Government would reserve to itself the power, to be used in the last resort, of legislating over the heads of the local council. Perhaps there would also be created a suffrage so arranged as to admit a certain number of the most intelligent and richest of what may be called the backward elements (Portuguese, Hawaiians, Japanese and Chinese), so that they should not feel wholly excluded. And, of course, neither race, nor color, nor religion would be any bar to the appointment of election of any person either to the council or to any office, for this kind of equality is a principle to which the British Gov-

ernment steadfastly adheres. Thus the government of the laws would be a bureaucracy controlled from home, yet feeling through the council the influence of local white opinion. We should think this sort of system the fairest to the backward races, and the most likely to advance the prosperity of the colony. When the masses became fitter for self-government, or when the white element had largely increased, we should by degrees liberalize the constitution. There is, indeed, one colony, Natal, in which full colonial self-government has been granted to a white population of about 50,000, ruling over a black population more than ten times as numerous. But in it the Kaffirs are homogeneous and peaceable, living mostly under their chiefs, and not likely to

ward races and process them. Thirdly, it might be considered whether a sort of control to advise the governor could be established, on which power could be found for one of two of the leading and most intelligent men belonging to each of the four backward races. Fourthly, the system of local government, whatever it is, which now exists, might be turned to account, and, if necessary, so revised as to secure for these four races some share in the management of it, and also some training which might draw them together and give them the rudiments of political training. A fifth point touches the control of the home government. That government, if I am rightly informed, deals with the territories through Congress and its committees on territories. These are fluctuating bodies, and act by way of legislation. Might there not be some advantage in putting the Executive Department of the Federal Government into direct contact with the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii, so that the former could give advice to the Governor and the latter could obtain support, if he needed it, for any action he might feel bound to take in the interest of the unrepresented masses? Lastly, it is of supreme importance that the Governor of the Territory should be a man of the highest character and capacity, who will feel his responsibility for the protection of those backward masses, and will have both the tact and the courage to defend their interests. A man may be good enough to be Governor of Arizona or Oklahoma and yet far below the standard needed for the administration of Hawaii whose duty it may become, not only to exercise boldly his veto against the local legislature, but even to proclaim his views of policy, formed on the spot, against those of a committee on territories or the Executive at Washington. Such a man, raised above the suspicion of having personal or political aims to serve, may do much to smooth the path, beset with difficulties as it must needs be, along which the new Territory would have to travel.

JAMES BRYCE.

THEY ARE OPPOSED.

One Pacific Coast Force that is in harmony with the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce and the Hawaiian Planters' Association and that is working tooth and nail against the extension of the navigation laws of the United States to these islands is the organization of the pilots of the Golden Gate. There are twenty of these men and each one has an income, all in fees, of \$5,000 to \$2,000 a year. They will be very heavy losers by the change. Under the new order the American ships plying between Honolulu and San Francisco will require only a coasting license and with this they may enter or depart without a pilot. As it is now, use of a pilot is compulsory. All of the captains are as well qualified for the work—from constant familiarity—as the pilots themselves and only the tugs will be used. And often the tugs will be able to dispense with the tow. It will make a very handsome bonus for the vessels of American registry in the sugar and general merchandise trade. The pilots at Honolulu are under salary. They may and again may not feel the difference. The coast pilots are credited with being a heavy political influence. They have always been able to defeat any bill presented at Sacramento looking to a reduction of fees.

come into any collision with the whites.

The British Crown Colony system is one which the United States cannot well apply to Hawaii, for these reasons (among others): That the United States has no Colonial office, and that the American-European element in Hawaii has already been in control of the Government. It must also be remembered that this element is, on the whole, personally respectable and worthy. However illegal the recent proceedings of the self-created government may have been, that it has no ill will to the natives, and that it knows the country, in which many of the leading families have been long settled.

It is announced that bills have been brought into Congress for establishing a form of territorial government in the islands. I have not seen these bills, and in any case could not find space in this letter for commenting on them. But it is to be hoped, for the sake of the islands, that the territorial government to be created will not follow the usual lines of the frames of government set up in territories on the American continent. The American people will certainly expect that the government to be established in Hawaii shall be pure and shall be just to all alike, i. e., shall give full protection to the four backward races of the islands. Now, if it is to be pure, the territorial constitution must not admit to the electoral suffrage a sufficient number of the backward races to enable them to turn the elections. It is no kindness to thrust upon them functions they are unfit to perform. A Legislature controlled by these four races, two of them Asiatic strangers, and the Hawaiian natives, would be politically superior, would be a body either useless or mischievous. Probably, however, even if these races held the mass of the votes, the Legislature would practically come under white control. But how? Most likely by bribery. The man who doesn't know how, or doesn't care, to use his vote is willing to sell it. White purchasers would be found, and the system thus created would demoralize the advanced part of the population while benefiting the backward part, while throwing the Legislature into unscrupulous hands. All Englishmen who know India and the crown colonies will say to Americans, "Beware of extending the suffrage in Hawaii." Utterly opposed as it may be to all democratic doctrine that 50,000 Americans and Europeans, with perhaps a small infusion of other races, should legislate for 100,000 Asiatics, Hawaiians and Portuguese, this is a less evil than that the 100,000 should be granted power to injure themselves, and the Americans, and the Government as a whole. The principles of the Declaration of Independence are a species of baggage which the American people cannot carry with them into their tropical dominions. In this matter nature has been too strong for us English, and she will be too strong for you.

But the conscience of the American people also desires that the Territorial Government of Hawaii should be just to all races, and extend full protection to the weaker. How is this to be secured, especially if the vast majority of the weaker are excluded from the suffrage? Several methods suggest themselves by which the difficulty may be reduced, if not quite overcome. In the first place, full private rights of citizenship, as distinguished from political rights, would be secured to the members of all races alike, with free access to all courts of law. Secondly, special officers might be appointed to look after the interests of the back-

ward races and process them. Thirdly, it might be considered whether a sort of control to advise the governor could be established, on which power could be found for one of two of the leading and most intelligent men belonging to each of the four backward races. Fourthly, the system of local government, whatever it is, which now exists, might be turned to account, and, if necessary, so revised as to secure for these four races some share in the management of it, and also some training which might draw them together and give them the rudiments of political training. A fifth point touches the control of the home government. That government, if I am rightly informed, deals with the territories through Congress and its committees on territories. These are fluctuating bodies, and act by way of legislation. Might there not be some advantage in putting the Executive Department of the Federal Government into direct contact with the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii, so that the former could give advice to the Governor and the latter could obtain support, if he needed it, for any action he might feel bound to take in the interest of the unrepresented masses? Lastly, it is of supreme importance that the Governor of the Territory should be a man of the highest character and capacity, who will feel his responsibility for the protection of those backward masses, and will have both the tact and the courage to defend their interests. A man may be good enough to be Governor of Arizona or Oklahoma and yet far below the standard needed for the administration of Hawaii whose duty it may become, not only to exercise boldly his veto against the local legislature, but even to proclaim his views of policy, formed on the spot, against those of a committee on territories or the Executive at Washington. Such a man, raised above the suspicion of having personal or political aims to serve, may do much to smooth the path, beset with difficulties as it must needs be, along which the new Territory would have to travel.

JAMES BRYCE.

RAINFALL FOR JANUARY, 1899.

From Reports to Weather Bureau STATIONS. ELEV. FEET. RAIN IN IN.

HAWAII—		
Waialeale	50	4.78
Hilo (town)	100	...
Kaunakakai	1250	6.37
Pepeekeo	100	...
Honolulu	300	2.63
Hakalau	200	...
Honohou
Laupahoehoe	10	1.04
Oakalei	400	0.45
Kukui	250	0.27
Pauilo	750	0.32
Pauahau	300	0.49
Pauahau	1200	0.37
Honokaa	425	0.43
Honokaa (Kalehua)	1900	0.75
Kukuihaele	700	1.16
Awini Ranch	1100	...
Nulli	300	0.93
Kohala	350	1.26
Kohala Mission	585	1.16
Kohala Sugar Co.	234	1.05
Waimea	2720	1.41
Kailua	950	1.70
Launahu	1540	...
Kealahou	1580	...
Kalahiki	800	2.22
Kalahiki	1200	1.71
Naelehu	650	4.37
Naelehu	1350	4.72
Naelehu	1725	9.25
Honouapo	15	2.10
Hiles	310	2.10
Pahala	850	2.76
Moala	700	...
Volcano House	...	2.57
Olan (Mason)	1650	4.65
Kapoho	110	2.83
Pohokai	10	3.83
Kalapana	8	1.06

MAUI—

Kahului	10	...
Lahaina	600	1.29
Olowalu	15	0.29
Waipahoehoe	700	1.44
Kapoho
Kapoho	1285	5.73
Kipahulu	...	3.21
Hanalei Plantation	60	2.35
Nahiku
Haiku	700	0.70
Kula (Kalahou)	2900	0.43
Kula	4000	0.75
Puomalei	1400	0.49
Pala	180	0.34
Haalekale Ranch	2000	0.55

MOLOKAI—

Mapelehu	70	1.54
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OAHU—

Punahou W. Bureau	50	1.22
Kulaokahua	50	...
Kevala (King St.)	15	0.60
Makiki Reservoir	150	1.08
Kapiolani Park	10	0.31
School St. (Bliss)	50	1.33
Ipswich Avenue	30	0.47
Nuuanu (W. W. Hall)	350	1.07
Nuuanu (W. W. Hall)	250	...
Nuuanu (Elec. Stn.)	405	...
Nuuanu, Luakaha	850	4.41
Manoa (W. Dairy)	...	2.02
Manoa (W. Dairy)	300	2.42
Kaneohe	100	...
Waianae	25	1.18
Ahihi	350	...
Kahuku	25	2.00
Walanae	1700	...
Ewa Plantation	60	...
Waipahu	200	0.65

KAUAI—

Lihue, Grove Farm	200	0.95
Lihue (Molokaa)	300	1.20
Hanalei	200	...
Kilauea	325	0.94
Hanalei	10	0.24
Waiawa	32	...

Records Not Hitherto Published:

DECEMBER, 1898.		
Lahaina	2.02	...
Nahiku	11.85	...
Kalapana	5.25	...
Pala	2.65	...
Nulli	3.83	...

C. J. LYONS.

Meteorologist Gov't Survey. N. B. Observers are requested to forward their reports promptly at the end of each month, that they may appear in the published report on the fifteenth of following month.

It is believed that Honolulu is represented in the casualty list by Shear, Weatherbee and White.

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JAMES BRYCE.

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Capital of the Company and reserve, reinsurance 8,800,000 Capital their reinsurance companies 35,000,000 Total reinsurance 43,800,000

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TOTAL FUNDS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1897, £115,558,000.

1—Authorized Capital—£2,000,000 & Subscribed 2,700,000

Paid up Capital 687,500 0

2—Fire Fund 2,748,819 7 6

3—Life and Annuity Funds 10,157,670 1 6

£15,558,000 0 0

Revenue Fire Branch 1,561,277 3 3

Revenue Life and Annuity Branch 1,376,611 1 0

£2,937,888 4 3

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